UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

John Haynes Holmes
Editor in Chief

Louis L. Mann
Curtis W. Reese
Associate Editors

Technocracy's Warning

By EDMUND B. CHAFFEE

From Moscow to Geneva - January, 1933

By SYDNEY STRONG

Anarchy in Morals

By LON RAY CALL

Trumpets on New Horizons

VOLUME CX NUMBER 24

Chicago, February 27, 1933

PRICE TEN CENTS

UNITY

Established 1878

Published Weekly October to June — *Subscription $3.00*
Published Bi-Weekly July to September — *Single Copies 10 cents*

Unity Publishing Co., Abraham Lincoln Centre, 700 Oakwood Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
"Entered as Second-Class Matter, July 30, 1931, at the Post office at Chicago, Illinois, under Act of March 3, 1879"

John Haynes Holmes, *Editor in Chief*
Louis L. Mann, Curtis W. Reese, *Associate Editors*

Board of Directors
Mrs. S. O. Levinson, President
Mrs. E. L. Lobdell, Vice-President
Mrs. Francis Neilson, Treasurer
Mrs. Ella R. Nagely
Mrs. O. T. Knight
Mr. Irwin S. Rosenfels
Mr. C. W. Reese
Miss Matilda C. Schaff
Mrs. E. E. Smith
Mrs. Irwin S. Rosenfels
Mr. Francis Neilson
Secretary: May Johnson

Editorial Board
W. Waldemar W. Argow
Raymond B. Bragg
Edmund B. Chaffee
Zona Gale
A. Eustace Haydon
Jesse H. Holmes
Joseph Ernest McAfee
H. R. Mussey
Alson H. Robinson
Clarence R. Skinner
Sydney Strong
Arthur L. Weatherly

Poetry Editors
Lucia Trent
Ralph Cheyney

Editorial Contributors
Dorothy Walton Binder
Percy M. Dawson
James A. Fairley
M. C. Otto
Frederick Starr
Jabez T. Sunderland
James H. West

Foreign Representatives
Australia—Charles Strong
Austria—Stefan Zweig
Bulgaria—P. M. Matthéeff
England—Harrison Brown
Fred Hankinson
Reginald Reynolds
Canada—Norman Stewart Dowd
France—G. Demartial
Romain Rolland
Germany—Theodor Hahn
India—Rabindranath Tagore
Japan—Nobuichiro Imaoka
Palestine—Hans Kohn
Russia—Alina Huebsch

Contents

EDITORIAL— Page
Notes 371
Technocracy's Warning—Edmund B. Chaffee 373
Jottings—J. H. H. 375

ARTICLES—
Technocracy?—*Thomas Carlyle* 371
From Moscow to Geneva—January, 1933—Sydney Strong 376
Anarchy in Morals—Lon Ray Call 378

POETRY—
Senseless Reaction—Virginia Spates 375
TRUMPETS ON NEW HORIZONS:
Dirge for the Modern Lazarus—Jay G. Sigmund 382
Robber Baron Never Dies—Mary Owen Lewis 382
The Builder—Margaret Miller Pettengill 382
Hymn of Peace—Amy Crocker Leighton 382

THE STUDY TABLE—
China—Frederick Starr 380
A Great Scientist on War—John Haynes Holmes 381

CORRESPONDENCE—
Friendless Miners—Norman Thomas 382
1933 Seminar in Mexico—Hubert C. Herring 383
Empty Buildings for the Homeless—George L. Thompson 383

THE FIELD—
Christian Pacifism and Revolutionary Policy—Reginald Reynolds 370

The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

Christian Pacifism and Revolutionary Policy

[From Our Special Correspondent]

The pacifist movement in this country (England) has had its roots, historically speaking, in at least two traditions, generally summed up as "religious" and "political."

That there has never been necessary any schism between these two standpoints is easily demonstrated by the known views of many of our members who, approaching the peace problem from an essentially religious point of view, have found themselves logically compelled to accept political corollaries of a far-reaching and revolutionary character. In spite of this we are faced today with a situation in which a forward drive on the political side is regarded with distrust and suspicion by many who claim a religious inspiration as the basis of their pacifism and believe that political issues are irrelevant to their position. It is primarily to these that this article is addressed, in the hope of liquidating considerable misunderstanding.

Two legitimate points of view undoubtedly exist, one of which is deduced from a spiritual, the other from a material standard of values. In some minds both standards may have their significance, in others the two standards may appear reciprocally exclusive. Nevertheless we accept one another as pacifists, recognizing and respecting the difference in fundamental principles. No pacifist has a right to demand that another should adopt a different motive for his pacifism, but every pacifist who sincerely accepts our common position on war and peace is logically and morally bound to accept the consequences of that position, both in regard to his opinions and his actions. He cannot with honesty say, "I accept the pacifist position, but I do not accept its consequences if they lead me into this or that sphere of human action." If this is true of a "political" pacifist it should be even more clear to one who accepts the Christian ideal, with its call for complete renunciation regardless of all consequences. A materialist may conceivably be a pragmatist—a Christian is expected to be an uncompromising idealist.

It is therefore clear that in considering the implications of Christian Pacifism no reservations can be made which would prejudice the honesty of our conclusions. If his conclusions do not indicate political activity, then the Christian pacifist *as such* has no political obligations. On the other hand, if a searching analysis of the facts in the light of his own convictions makes it clear to him that any particular form of political or industrial activity is demanded, it is equally clear that he cannot with sincerity evade this conclusion.

Let us, for example, suppose that there is "unrest" in a colony controlled

(Continued on page 383)

UNITY

"He Hath Made of One All Nations of Men"

Volume CX MONDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1933 Number 24

TECHNOCRACY?

". . . The giant steam engine in a giant English nation will here create violent demand for labor, and will there annihilate demand. . . . The huge demon of mechanism smokes and thunders, panting at his great task, in all sections of English land; changing his shape like a very Proteus; and infallibly, at every change of shape, oversetting whole multitudes of workmen, and as if with the waving of his shadow from afar, hurling them asunder, this way and that, in their crowded march and course of work or traffic, so that the wisest no longer knows his whereabout. . . . Black mutinous discontent devours them; simply the miserablest feeling that can inhabit the heart of man. English commerce with its world-wide convulsive fluctuations, with its immeasurable Proteus steam-demon, makes all paths uncertain for them, all life a bewilderment; sobriety, steadfastness, peacable continuance, the first blessings of man, are not theirs. . . .

If from this black unluminous unheeded Inferno, and Prisonhouse of souls in pain, there do flash up from time to time some dismal widespread glare of Chartism or the like . . . notable to all, claiming remedy from all, are we to regard it as more baleful than the quiet state, or rather as not so baleful? . . . The disease becomes acute, has crises, and will be cured or kill."

—*Thomas Carlyle,* "Chartism."

These are serious times in which we are living. Nothing can be more foolish or dangerous than to minimize their momentous character. There was a day when Cassandra, prophetess of doom, was right—and she may be right again. But it is well, also, to remember that there have been appalling epochs of human experience before this, and that discouraged men have foreseen the worst, and yet society has pulled through. Thus, in a recent issue of the Paris (France) *Herald*, we find the following:

Before the American republic was born, brilliant William Pitt said: "There is scarcely anything around us but ruin and despair."

In 1800, sober Bishop Wilberforce said: "I dare not marry, the future is so dark and unsettled."

In 1819, Lord Grey believed "everything was ending in a convulsion."

In 1848, Lord Shaftesbury said: "Nothing, nothing, can save the Empire from shipwreck."

In 1849, Prime Minister Disraeli cried: "In industry, commerce and agriculture there is no hope."

The Duke of Wellington, the Iron Conqueror of Europe, on his deathbed (1851) thanked his God that he would be spared "from seeing the consummation of ruin that is gathering around us."

These are statements which we may well ponder to our greater good. We believe, to be sure, that the days of the Napoleonic wars, of the Reform Bill, of the Chartist revolt, bad as they were, were no such days as our own. Forces are loose in the world at this dread hour of a more destructive potency than man has ever encountered before. But on the other hand, man himself is more powerful—he has a grasp of knowledge and a control of energy that make him wellnigh a demi-god. If ever he was fitted to remake society and thus save it from destruction, it is today. And that is the whole secret of our present dilemma! We *can* save ourselves, if we will. But this salvation cannot come from any passive acceptance of the *status quo,* any blind reliance upon the tendency of everything to "come out all right." What is challenged by this great hour is a creative statesmanship which will have at once the wisdom and the courage

> To grasp this sorry scheme of things entire,
> And mould it nearer to the heart's desire.

What we must achieve is a vast process of reform, as revolutionary in our day economically as the Reform Bill of a century ago was politically. Then we shall be able to laugh once more at the croaking ravens. But otherwise—laughter will be settled!

We were in Germany and Austria during the period of the inflation in 1922, and we have hated and feared the very word ever since. Our experience in those two countries is all the reason we want or need for opposing inflation in this country. In speaking of inflation, we are using the word here in its ordinary meaning of currency inflation, not credit inflation. We have in mind what Congressmen have in mind in Washington when they introduce bills authorizing or directing the government to print paper bills and flood the land with them, or mint silver dollars and scatter them like seeds in the wind, or cut down the proportion of pure gold in the gold coin. It is so easy to issue money—and apparently so obvious that more money means more wealth and therefore more income for us all! But what is the use of more money, when each separate bill or coin is worth less in exact proportion to the amount of new money issued? Of course, it is pointed out that the present value of money, and as a consequence of commodity prices,

is preposterous; and inflation is recommended as a carefully guarded and controlled device for restoring the equilibrium upset by the depression. We should never have any such flood of cheap money, we are told, as wiped out the German middle-class a decade ago! But where is the assurance that inflation in this country would be accompanied by any adequate safeguards? Show us the guarantee that the printing presses or the minting machines would stop once the government had been given this easy method of paying its bills and thus balancing its budget. Inflation is to be the one chief subject of discussion in the new Congress. It will succeed technocracy, and thrust beer aside, as the center of public attention. We regard this as the greatest danger now before the nation. For inflation, if successful, would open the second and darkest period in the history of the great depression.

Soviet Russia is still finding it difficult to collectivize the farms—i. e., to pass them over from private and personal to public and communal cultivation. The peasants still balk; they insist upon holding their lands. Stalin, in his recent speech, warned the people that there will be no let-up in the collectivization campaign, but only a few days later Molotov, President of the Council of People's Commissars, announced the abandonment of the procurement system of seizing crops, and the substitution of a grain income tax similar to that established by Lenin in 1921. Obviously, the peasants are still stubborn, and successful in their resistance to collectivization. Yet the problem is a relatively simple one. Stalin can get all those farms into government's hand if he is as wise as he is reputed to be. Why, all the situation needs is a little injection of good old-fashioned capitalism. Look at what is happening in this country! The farmers, hopelessly in debt and quite unable to carry their mortgages, are gradually being sold out under foreclosure proceedings. The farms, thus taken over, are all in the hands of banks, trust companies, and insurance companies. These institutions in turn are in trouble, and are, or soon will be, helped by the government's Reconstruction Finance Corporation. This means that ultimate control is slowly but surely passing to Washington by the process of capitalistic collapse. Here is your remedy, Mr. Stalin. Your peasants are stiff-necked; they insist upon clinging to their land holdings. Well, force them to make loans and take out mortgages. Establish a free, competitive system of buying and selling in the open market, with plenty of middlemen along the line of transfer. Set up some private banks and trust companies. Establish a stock market. Then be patient, and wait for the inevitable depression. Immediately you will be able to "liquidate" these peasants without sending one of them to Siberia. Collectivization will come automatically as the result of the ruin of the landholder.

With De Valera well established in the new Dail in Dublin, a new era has begun in the stormy history of Ireland. The more we think of it, the more amazing seems the victory of Erin's leader in the recent election. On the surface of things, everything was seemingly working for the return of Cosgrave to power. De Valera was an "in," and the voters always delight in throwing the "ins" out. The Fianna Fail policy had been expensive economically—its controversy with England had caused a drop in exports for a single year of 11,000,000 pounds! Furthermore, the depression had caught Ireland, as it has caught every other western nation, and gave Irish electors every excuse for treating De Valera the way American electors treated Hoover. It was in the face of these conditions, however, that the Premier of the Free State not only held his own, but actually increased his power to the point where he now has a secure, though slender, majority in the Dail. Of course the inept J. H. Thomas had his share in this great victory. If there was anything the English minister left undone to help in De Valera's cause, we have not heard what it is. But at the heart of the event was De Valera himself. He knew what he was doing when he called this recent election. In the single-hearted devotion, almost fanaticism, of this man, there is something that inevitably appeals to the mysticism of the Irish people. In his unrelenting drive against England, he stirs the depths of a thousand years of heroic history. In his objective of freedom for Ireland, he fulfills the dream of centuries. Of course this leader is irresistible. The marvel is not that he holds his place of power, but actually encounters so considerable an opposition. But the fate of his country is now safely in his hands, and it is not difficult to forecast what that fate will be. We prophesy in due course a united Ireland, as free of Britain as America is free. Liberty will once again, after long tribulation, have won her cause.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has discovered a new form of lynching. As though offended at the fall in the number of lynchings, which were only eleven last year (eight according to the Tuskegee report), and as though resolved to maintain to itself a kind of unique privilege, the South has worked out a way of lynching *inside* the law. Instead of suppressing violence, in other words, the authorities, or even the mob itself, are learning to give violence a quasi-legal character. A sheriff, for example, will deputize the members of a lynching mob, and there-

with establish a posse which may kill the "nigger" as neatly, legally and therefore safely as you please. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People finds this practice so definitely taking shape that it has announced that henceforth it will list among lynchings the cases of Negroes killed by sheriffs' posses. It should be added, in all honesty, that this development is undoubtedly very largely due to the recent appearance in the South itself of a strong movement against lynching. It is this movement which is one cause of the rapid decline of lynchings during the last three or four years. But the agents of evil, and especially the practitioners of violence, are ingenious. No sooner do we get the law upon them, than they devise a way of beating the law, or even using the law to their own end. It's the case of Prohibition all over again! A certain element in the South *will* have their sport of hunting "niggers," as certain elements elsewhere —and in the South, too!—*will* have their drinks. And of course they find the way of attaining their object. The wonder is that nobody in the South has suggested that the law against lynching be repealed as the one sure way of curing the evil!

Curious, that things so easy and natural in Europe should be so impossible in America! In London, when we were last in that city, we saw an honest police force. Where does one such exist in this country? In Berlin, and a dozen other German cities, we saw clean streets, and a street-cleaning apparatus so simple and so effective that not one atom of dust could escape, or one scrap of paper be blown away. Why can't we have such cleanliness in New York, Chicago, and St. Louis? In Vienna we saw beautiful houses built by the municipality for the workers, with apartments renting as low as $3.50 per month. European cities build houses for their people to live in, as naturally as they build streets for them to walk on. If a ruined and bankrupt city like Vienna can do this, why can't New York, the richest city in the world? In Moscow we saw a city with no grafting politicians. If a public official in Russia were discovered stealing public funds, he would be promptly stood up against a wall and shot. If New Yorkers followed this alluring practice in their city, there would be a pile of bodies in City Hall Park mounting higher than the adjacent Woolworth Building. To any American of average intelligence and sensibility it is an experience of sadness, humiliation and outrage that Europeans, struggling with such problems of political and economic disaster as we have never encountered in this country, can still maintain these standards of municipal administration which seem so altogether beyond our attainment. When shall we pull ourselves together and rescue our common life from the thieves and brigands who fatten upon its spoils?

Technocracy's Warning*

Technocracy has become a word more blessed than Mesopotamia. Entirely unknown to the public until last August it has now become a household word. Not even General Motors or Ford have been able to get the publicity in a year that Technocracy captured within a brief few weeks. The word itself seems to have been coined by William H. Smythe, an engineer of Berkeley, California, back in 1919 and 1920. He used it to describe a system of government in which our economic affairs should be managed by the technically capable persons in the interest of society as a whole. He also used it to describe the general philosophy which such a group might hold. About the same time a group of engineers and scientists in the east formed a private organization for the purpose of studying, as they expressed it, "The functioning of the social mechanism on the North American continent." These men found this word Technocracy right at hand and adopted it, one might almost say, as their trade name. In that original research group were such well-known men as Richard O. Tolman of the California Institute of Technology; Charles P. Steinmetz, electrical wizard; Frederick Lee Ackerman, famous architect; Thorstein Veblen, rebel economist, and others of rank in the scientific world. As the years went by other men were added to this loosely knit organization and a large body of fact about the economic process in North America was built up. The directing head of the group has been Howard Scott, an engineer and a man of wide experience in many fields. Apparently Scott is a genius of the first order. It has been his creative ideas that have directed Technocracy's researches and his driving power has kept the project under way. It is most natural that the attacks upon Technocracy should center upon him. However, we may profitably ignore these personal attacks for after all the facts and conclusions of these researchers must stand or fall by themselves. Facts are facts no matter who discovers them. Since the organization of Technocracy the group has grown and in the last two or three years much of the research work has been carried on at the Engineering School of Co-

*Published also in the *Intercollegian*, and shared with our readers by the courtesy of that paper.—Editor.

lumbia University although not under its auspices. Exhaustive data have been accumulated concerning some 150 commodities and nearly every phase of the industrial process has been painstakingly examined. Very recently some of those conclusions have become public and literally they have taken the country by storm.

First and foremost, Technocracy with endless facts and figures has driven home the tremendous change which has come since the industrial revolution. The Technocrats point out that in the past 130 years there has come more change in our power to do work than in all the past 7,000 years of social history. Expressing this change in engineering language, we have multiplied the original output rate of the human machine, that is the individual man, by 9,000,000 as measured in a modern energy transversion unit. And still more amazing is the fact that most of this increase, that is, 8,766,000, has come in the last twenty-five years.

A few examples will show what has been happening since man learned to apply mechanical power. A shoemaker of ancient Rome took five and a half days to make a pair of shoes. Seventy-two hundred shoemakers of the Shoemakers' Guild of those days could make 7,200 pairs of shoes in the five and a half days. In a modern shoe plant 7,200 employees can in that length of time make 495,000 pairs of shoes. The miller in Athens or Rome ground out with his two crude milling stones in a day's time a barrel and a half of not too good flour. Today a modern flour mill produces 50,000 barrels a day per man and the working day is shorter and the flour is better. When man had to spade the soil he could do but one-eighth of an acre in a twelve-hour day. Now the large tractor drawn duck foot plow makes it possible to do more than 1,000 times as much as the primitive man did by hand.

Moreover, the shift from muscle to machine goes steadily on, even during depression. In 1920 the railroads of the United States employed 2,160,000 men. In 1930 the number had dropped to 1,300,000 and it is estimated that all the 1920 railroad business could be handled today with some 560,000 men. In the Corning electric lamp plant it is now possible to produce 581,000 globes per machine per day—an increase per man of 9,000 times that of the method previously employed. In Milwaukee they are making 10,000 automobile chassis frames and 34 miles of pipe line per day with but 108 men in the plant. The illustrations of the displacement of men by machines is endless. Even the apple selling which was one of the first methods of solving the unemployed crisis is now outmoded. The apple machine has displaced the apple man.

The moral of this shift from human and animal power to mechanical power, as Technocracy sees it, is twofold. First, the basic reason for our present unemployment is found at this point. Men are being driven out of their jobs by the machines. It is useless to argue, as we have long done, that the machines make new jobs so that in the long run there is just as much employment and even more than before. This the Technocrats say was true in the earlier stages of the industrial revolution when it was necessary to make the tools by hand to make the machines. But it is not true now, when we have machines to make the tools. The iron and steel industry, for example, increased its output in 1929 to nearly ten times what it was in 1887. Yet it employed no more men in 1929 than in 1887. The radio industry, which got under way about 1920, reached its maximum employment in 1925 but it did not reach its greatest output until 1929 when it had a production capacity of 8,000,000 sets a year. Again, there are plenty of other illustrations which, say the Technocrats, go to prove that the real reason for the present unemployment is found in the fact that in the shift from human labor to machine labor employment tends toward zero. Indeed, Technocracy maintains that even were production suddenly resumed at the 1929 peak it could all be handled with 55 per cent of the working force employed in that year.

The second moral of this astounding industrial story is found by the Technocrats in the amazing productivity of the machine. When one turbine engine can furnish as much power as could all the population of ancient Egypt it can be readily seen that man has in his hands an instrument capable of satisfying all his material needs. The civilizations of the past have been doomed to an economy of deficit. Ours may be an economy of surplus. It is now possible, with our industrial equipment, to produce goods in such quantities that every family can have the equivalent of $20,000 per year. It would be possible, if we rightly used the scientific knowledge of engineering now at hand, to give to everyone incomes such as now are possible only to millionaires. It would be possible to have the work done by those from 18 to 45 if each worked but 660 hours per year, and the working years need be no more than up to 45. Such are the conclusions of Technocracy in this field. For the first time, these men maintain, it is possible to talk intelligently about an economic Utopia because for the first time it is physically possible to produce it.

Of course there is much more to Technocracy's philosophy than this brief summary would indicate. These engineers believe that economics can be made a science just as truly as any other realm of human inquiry. For all conceptions of value they would substitute the measure of the energy

used and the work done. They would do away entirely with the price system and substitute a card or certificate which would indicate the amount of work performed by each worker and the goods drawn. They believe, too, that the debt claims against industry have become absurd and an impossible burden. In sober words they warn us that we have reached the end of an epoch, that the old price system will no longer work, that the day of reckoning draws near. The facts they have unearthed in their studies are of a nature so revolutionary that they can well say, "We now regard it as our social duty to do our best to disseminate this information in answer to the growing demand of a public which has realized that none of its leaders of the past are equipped with knowledge adequate to cope with the present dilemma. . . . It is urgent that this work proceed with all possible speed, due to the threat of imminent social disintegration and resultant catastrophe."

Doubtless fault can be found with individual items in Technocracy's case. Some of the illustrative figures may have to be modified but the case as a whole seems unassailable. We are in the midst of the greatest revolution in all human history beside which the French and Russian ones are but ripples on the tide. By learning the secret of using mechanical power we have stolen the very fire of the gods. With it we can relieve humanity of practically all burdensome labor. But . . . we can also burn our civilization to a crisp. This is Technocracy's warning. The decision will probably be made in this very decade.

EDMUND B. CHAFFEE.

Jottings

"Walter Lippman is a progressive."—*The Christian Leader.*

How long since?

A sailor, we are told, has a wife in every port. Bernard Shaw, as he sails around the world, has a reporter in every port.

It seems amusing for opponents of proportional representation in New York to argue that the system would fail because voters would not understand it, when it is used without trouble in Ireland. How long since a New York citizen was less intelligent than an Irish peasant?

A writer in the London *Inquirer,* an English Unitarian paper, declares that church congregations are too large—that a group of not more than a dozen or so is ample for religious purposes. If this be true, English Unitarian preachers should be happy men.

"There will be no drinkers on my team in 1933," says a leading baseball magnate in the American League. Well, now, that's curious. Imagine such a thing in this enlightened age when we have discovered that liquor is the source of all good!

Edwin L. James, in the New York *Times* (Feb. 5), writing on the German elections on March 5th:

> If the Hitler Nationalists . . . get a clear majority in the Reichstag, . . . Germany will face one political situation. If the Nationalists fail to increase their number of deputies or have fewer, Germany will face another political situation.

It is acute political analysis of this distinguished order which makes newspaper reading so indispensable.

J. H. H.

Senseless Reaction

Once I saw by a lake a dredging crane at work;
Constantly, but not hurrying, it went back and forth lifting its burden of dripping mud.
It was a gigantic thing—an iron Frankenstein—long-armed and cruel-jawed.

I thought it the personification of all machinery: brainless, merciless, inhuman.
Like a one-idea man it was intent on getting its quota of mud;
It swung its weight to and fro across the sky, tireless as destiny.

Had a human life stood between it and duty, then—crunch!
Why not? What is a life to a task well done—especially in mud?
As I watched it something in me rebelled against its indifference, its cool insolence, and I cried out—
But I am a fool.

VIRGINIA SPATES.

From Moscow to Geneva—January, 1933

[From Our Special Correspondent]

It was an easy three days' trip, with the cars well-lighted and heated. Travel was light. The only jammed cars I have seen for the whole month were the street-cars in Moscow. These are nearly always stuffed and running over on the steps, surpassing even the "Sub" in New York. Cause: the people want to go somewhere! A "Sub" is in process of being made in Moscow—to be completed at the end of the year.

During my month in Moscow, I did not experience any cold (climate is like that of Minneapolis) as trying as the famous *bise,* with its piercing quality, that greeted me on my arrival in Geneva, and has stayed with me up to the present. I have a theory that this *bise* accounts for some of the blue strains in Calvin's theology. Crossing the boundaries between two countries in Europe is always interesting, if not provoking. When you have gone from Moscow to Geneva, you are ready to vote with the New History Society for the "United States of Europe." I have little trouble with my baggage, for I travel light, and am neither a smoker nor a wine-bibber. But, you are liable to be aroused at midnight by the flash of the conductor's light in your eyes—and, then, you may suffer the fate of the "foolish maiden" if your passport is not correctly *visaed.*

I had a lucky escape coming over Russia's border. From Moscow it is a fourteen hour ride to the border. One important item I had neglected, namely, to register with the police in Moscow—a requirement in many lands. At customs, the official called my attention to the omission, and gently remarked that I would need to return to Moscow, or "stay here" until word might come from Moscow, by telephone or telegraph. The thought of either was not exhilarating. Of course, to be put in the care and keeping of officials might furnish experience, worth telling—but, I'd prefer to court such experience when it was not mid-winter, and with a falling thermometer. So, like anyone caught by the officers, I racked my brain for an alibi. My valise happened to be open, under the gaze of the official. I saw a copy of the Moscow *News.* In this copy chanced to be a picture of myself (to be sure with a mustache) taken in Australia accompanying an interview I had given the *News,* a few days previous. I offered it as evidence that I was all okey. It carried conviction, and there was simply a request that the paper might be retained for the police-files. So, I can claim now to have a police-record. Whether my immunity was a kind of "courtesy to the press" or due to gladness to having a writer depart the land—I shall never know.

There is one little financial formality in going out of the Soviet Union—one is not permitted to carry out more "valuta," i. e. dollars, or pounds, or marks, etc., than he brings in. Further, he can not carry out with him any rubles. For example, I turned over at the border 15 rubles to the postal official. He will see that it is sent and delivered personally to the person I designated. This throws light on the financial problems faced by the Soviets—as well as by other governments.

The long ride through Poland was like a ride through a tunnel, for the heated train rushing through a cold atmosphere caused a frosted coating to form on the windows, which shut out all scenery from one end of Poland to the other. However, this was calculated to encourage conversation. There were three people whom I especially recall—one an English engineer, representing the Metropolitan Vickers of Manchester. He was returning to England for vacation, after being for a long time at the great Kuznetsk Steel Mill—the marvelous creation that has risen out of dust and chaos—one of the wonders of Soviet construction in Siberia. He talked long about the achievements of the Soviets and hoped that England would be wise enough to get her share of the trade and business with Russia. He said that the Soviets, so far as he knew, always paid their bills and met their contracts.

There was also an American woman, wife of an American engineer in ball-bearing works in Moscow. She said that the conditions were not soft, but that she was glad to go back after a visit with her sister in England, to take part in the vast enterprises undertaken by the Soviets.

There was also an English woman, who was drawn into the conversation. She was the wife of a Polish business man, and was going home to England for a visit. She was intelligent, but densely ignorant about what was going on over the border in Soviet-land, except she had the opinion that there was nothing commendable over there. She had been living several years in Poland, too. She was moved much by the unsolicited testimony of her countryman, the engineer and the housewife who was enjoying living in Moscow. However, she seemed to be impressed the most when I showed her an English daily newspaper published in Moscow—and, especially when in opening my valise, she saw a part of the luncheon that had been put up for me to eat on the way, which consisted of ham and fruit sandwiches, with nice light brown bread, apples, oranges, two kinds of candies, and the climax came when I lifted up a big bar of sweet chocolate, in 24 squares, wrapped in silver tin-foil, all good enough for a Berlin or Geneva shop—all made in U. S. S. R. I think if I were handling any of the "Moscow money" for propaganda purposes, I should put up little boxes of edible-exhibits to be put on display, of things "made in U. S. S. R." These would dispel much ignorance, which is the origin of much prejudice and hatred.

I spent a day in Berlin. Great city, and a great people. Ten years ago, I spent a year in Berlin. At that time I paid a million of marks for one postage stamp, and took a trip to Cologne for 25 cents. I think now, as I did ten years ago, that Germany and Russia were made to be friends. In the first place, they are neighbors. Neither can move nor migrate to another part of the earth. What God has put together should stick together. It is the work of evil forces that seek to drive them apart. In the second place, the two lands supplement each other. Russia has the boundless resources of wheat, mines and woods—Germany has to a high degree mechanical skill. They are the two arms—the left and the right—of Europe. It is fratricidal to strike against each other. Some nations are working to keep them apart. These are enemies of mankind. From Moscow to Berlin one can fly in a few hours. Every barrier of communication of every kind should be torn down. Will those nations that seek to divide

and conquer take hands off! They were made for each other as much as New York and California.

A word as to Berlin. Some of the people with whom I talked—people in the "know"—told me what most people have guessed, that the outlook was uncertain and not optimistic, both politically and industrially. I regret to have learned from all sides that the people were drifting rather fast towards militarism, which might end in conscription and armament. To one who saw military Germany 20, 30, 40 years ago, this causes great sadness. I do not have it in my heart to blame the German people—for in the matter of disarmament, since Versailles, they have been treated by the Allies with deceit, hypocrisy and evil judgment. The German people, I feel sure, were sincere in setting up their Republic, and entered into disarmament, with faith that the Allies would keep their word. They cannot be blamed for being cynical, and being driven to armament when we recall how they have been treated by English, French and Americans. But, it is such a pity and a world calamity—that Germany may go the way of armament with the other fool-nations. It would be far better for Germany not to increase her arms, no matter what others do. In spite of her handicaps, she is beginning to win. Germany is building the fastest ships, the fastest trains, the best air service. She will in twenty-five years gain more business among the nations, *because* she is unarmed, than if she ranks high among the Big Power buccaneers that go through the earth bullying and robbing. Mind this, O Germany, the Almighty Power has taken their measure, and unless they repent and disarm they will be carried off by the Eternal Undertaker.

O Germany—don't be a *fool*. You were once. Haven't you learned the lesson? Berlin and your big cities look too much like cemeteries *now*. Be not as men walking among tombs! Better tear down your triumphal arches and monuments and tablets to the dead, and be resolved to make yours a *land of the living*. Take warning! Constantinople, Rome, Paris, London are going the way of death. They too are building monuments, glorying—what insanity!—in the death of the choicest sons and daughters, who went forth to kill, to *kill* I say. With them the *best is underground*. O Germany—have you not sense to see, in this confusion, that not half disarmament, but total disarmament (as Litvinoff offered at the Conference) is the only way out—if only you had sense enough to refuse to fall down and worship this World-War-devil, you would *conquer! This devil promises the world but he cannot deliver it!*

O Germany! You are so gifted in philosophy, in medicine, in science, in art, in mechanism, in social construction—why hanker after the bondage of militarism from which you have been freed? Why go off to run with savages and cannibals—when you can sit and work with the gods? Thou fool—to sell your soul for a toy, your birthright for a mess of pottage.

I thought all this and more, as I rode in a second class compartment on the 9 o'clock train going from Berlin to Eisenach. I let my eyes wander around my little compartment, as I rode for five hours. I affirmed that if I wished to learn how to build a railroad I could not do better than to sit right down here and begin to learn. For, the Germans beat the world in what I call psychological mechanics. That is, the thing made fits the mind for which it was made. Notice the curtains: just right for sun or the cold; the handle for turning off or on the heat—just the right place. And, the lights—low, half-on, full—the little tables for books or papers—the coffee and rolls with the big bunch of grapes at the right time and price—the toilet room where I shaved—the liquid soap, the towels, the mirror, the faucets, the windows, the running water, etc. This was only Car 11,439 which I chanced to take—but, this is a sample of the best psychological mechanism—the German—in the world. This is why it is a delight to travel on the "Europa," or to put up in a German inn.

O Germany, this gift of the gods was not made for murder! And what a call there is for it in the vast stretches of the Soviet Republic, and in the Republic of China. Go not like the fool forth to conquer with the sword! Possess your soul with patience and work on in peace—and soon the nations of earth will seek you from afar. Your Einsteins will be called to the ends of the earth, and nations will seek to trade with you, *because* you come in peace.

A half day spent at Haus Haustein, a boys' school near Eisenach, was very profitable to me—because a grandson is one of the sixty boys in the school, and because the school is in its own class, and serves to illustrate what I am seeking to say that Germany's conquests shine when in higher realms. This school under the leadership of Paul Le Seur is only six years old. It limits itself to sixty boys from the working class, to be drawn from all parts of Germany. The charge is about fifteen dollars a month. Each boy works about three hours a day. There are no servants whatsoever—the boys doing all the work, absolutely. The diet is quite simple. The dress is not uniform but plain—the knees being exposed a la Scotch. The bedrooms hold two or four boys. The school is an outgrowth of the Youth Movement. The boys are expected to be comrades. In politics, they range all the way from right to left. They study philosophy, economics, German history, the message of the New Testament, medicine, music and physical training. The boys remain only six months—and then give way to others. The boys must be in earnest and truthful.

The school has also a large *"Jugendwanderherberge"* (a hostel for those on foot or who bicycle through the country) with fifty-one comfortable bunks with mattresses, washing accommodations, etc. The facilities of the school are open to these wandering youth. What finer place in all Germany, with Wartburg in full sight, the castle where Luther, leader in one of humanity's great forward steps, translated the Bible, and thus gave body and direction to the German language. Not far away is Erfurt, his birthplace—and a little way is Weimar, with memories of Goethe and the Constitution of the Republic. It is men like these that make Germany loved at home and revered abroad. O Germany, in this the period of your temptation in the Wilderness, when the Devil from a High Mountain promises—the Old Liar—you kingdoms of the World *—turn him down hard*—and you will save not only your own soul, but trailing after you will come sons and daughters of men, whom you have freed. Walking in the path of truth and justice, you will no longer be afraid.

And, this—after Basel and Lausanne—is Geneva! City of the White Mountain and searching *bise!* City of ducking swan, with rubber-necks! The journey has been through three republics—the Soviets, Germany

and Switzerland. They should be friends. They stand for three great ideas: the Soviets for a socially organized state without classes; Germany for the authority of conscience, as won by Luther; Switzerland for democracy, as won by Calvin and translated to Scotland and New England. To me they all seem to be important ideas. Neither are they in opposition, when we look deep enough and discern the fundamental unity of the world and race. These ideas should spell peace, not strife.

SYDNEY STRONG.

Geneva, Switzerland.

Anarchy in Morals

In attempting to deal with the moral anarchy of our times, it seems to me that we should first frankly face these three facts:

First, that our moral standards do not descend upon us ready-made from the heavens but that they are a result of man's search for the best ways to achieve the good life. In short, they are not given to us by revelation but from experience.

Secondly, it follows that moral standards are not fixed, but flexible. We are constantly changing our moral ideas and codifying new moral codes to meet the needs of human conditions.

Thirdly, moral codes are changing more rapidly now than ever before.

Let us look a little more closely into these three propositions and then ask ourselves what tests we should try to apply to conduct today in order to determine if it is good.

I

Now, as to the first proposition, that moral standards are created by the exigencies of human conditions, we need only call to mind briefly some of the outstanding moral codes of the past to see how they grew out of the human conditions that prevailed when they were proclaimed.

The first moral code that we know anything about was the ancient code of Hammurabi, unearthed at Susa, ancient site of the capital of Babylonia, by De-Morgan, in 1901. This code is over four thousand years old and was cut upon blocks of black diorite. It contains some two hundred and eighty-two laws concerning such things as tenure of land, shipping, trade, commerce, loans, pledges, property rights and obligations and other economic and social requirements. The whole list indicates the state of social flux existing at the time. Hammurabi looms large as one of the greatest kings in ancient Babylonia, not only for his ability to mould an empire by subduing first Mesopotamia, then Assyria and ruling supremely the empire thus built but also as a genius in codifying rules for individual and social behavior. The code clearly illustrates the fact that standards of conduct grow out of experience.

The next great code worthy of our attention comes one thousand years later and is known to us as the Ten Commandments of Moses. This decalogue which has had such an important influence in determining our moral principles, is popularly believed to have been given by Jehovah to Moses on Mount Sinai, the sacred mountain of God. The further removed from the days of Moses, the more firmly did each existing generation cherish that tradition, but as a matter of historic fact the centuries from which the tradition comes form a period in which conjecture and sentiment fixed the background of every important event, with the result that nine out of ten of these identifications have been shown by modern research to have been incorrect. It is unlikely that Moses was ever on Sinai but this didn't make any difference to the imaginative Hebrews. He probably labored at great length in some unfrequented and dreary place in his effort to reduce all moral codes then existing to the simple Commandments he finally presented so that a wandering people could remember them in connection with the ten fingers of the two hands.

As a matter of fact, there were two decalogues attributed to Jehovah's revelation of his will on Sinai. The one found in Exodus 34 seems to be the older of the two, and it is very unlikely that both decalogues were written by the same man. The older one is almost wholly confined to the duties of worship and ceremonial and the bringing of tribute to the Lord. It is significant that few people today recall this code. This is apparently due to the fact that it has little to do with human experience and practically nothing to give it significance today. The later decalogue, the one we usually ascribe to Moses, is remembered mainly because it is composed of commandments concerning human relations. Usually in any test of opinion regarding the relative value of the various commandments, those that deal with human relations are conceived to be of more weight than those dealing with man's relation to Jehovah. They have to do with life rather than theology. Considering the exigencies of the occasion and the relative importance of this later code over the previous one, it seems quite clear that the commandments grew out of the stress and strain of tribal life in the exodus from Egypt. They were rules that had been tried and found worthy. In fact the Ten Commandments are among the best examples of how moral law springs from human experience.

Let us now consider the third great set of moral principles, namely, the precepts taught by Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount. In this code, as in the others, it is evident that the principles espoused were designed to meet the needs of a particular time and place. The very authority with which Jesus spoke was not the authority of the Pharisees, the religionists of the time; nor the authority of the political rulers, nor indeed, the authority of the masses, for his followers were few. It was rather the authority that sprang from his deep insight into the spiritual needs of a people caught in a whirlpool of political and economic oppression. For their sake, he set aside the codes then proclaimed in the temple and announced new moral ideals to suit the new needs. In one breath he would declare, "It has been said unto you," and then in the second breath he would sweep aside the moral authority of the past and present in its place a vital moral truth based on the experience of his day.

His statements were radical immoralities if judged by the moral standards of that time, but they were vigorous and real in the midst of much that was hypocritical and false. Today we are in danger lest his

teachings become for us lifeless and inert for our times and problems are different. Creative living today cannot content itself with the imitation of Jesus. Modern morality must transcend all past standards. We are experiencing new conditions that bring new values which will suffer if we substitute for them the precepts that Jesus lived and taught in ancient Palestine two thousand years ago. New occasions teach new duties.

II

My second proposition is that we are constantly changing our moral ideas and codifying new codes. This is illustrated nowhere better than in the history of the Christian church which has been widely acclaimed as the custodian of morality through these many generations. But it is easily evident that the church has always been an institution of expediency. Its moral teachings have varied as conditions have changed. Its strongest personalities have been those who have been most alive to the needs of their times regardless of the authority of past codes. At times the church has condemned war but at other times in the name of God it has gone forth to pillage and slay. In one generation the church has emphasized the sacredness of life and in another has blessed human slaughter. At times it has worked for brotherhood and at other times has stirred up strife. Occasionally prophets have arisen to denounce moral principles, later proclaimed as worthy and good. I have no wish to condemn the church but its history not only indicates its human nature but testifies to the truth of the proposition that the moral precepts which guide us are themselves subject to the changes of time, place, and human conditions.

Again, the shifting basis of moral authority can be clearly seen in the way by which we arrive at the nuggets of wisdom called proverbs. We codify certain ideas, hold them for a while and then give them up in the presence of contradicting ideas. For example, we have been told that "In union there is strength," but also advised "Every man for himself." "There is always room for one more," yet it is "The last straw that breaks the camel's back." "Nothing venture, nothing gained," but "Fools rush in where angels fear to tread." "Minds of great men run in the same channels," however "All fools think alike." "Look before you leap," and yet "He who hesitates is lost." If there is so much conflict between the truths of modern times how much more conflicting are the moral standards of different climes and ages. Almost every vice is somewhere a virtue. Almost every virtue is somewhere a vice. Moral codes are not given from the skies but are evolved from human experience. They are what they are because of economic, scientific and social foundations. As these foundations shift, the moral codes shift.

III

My third proposition is that we are now witnessing a widespread anarchy in morals destined to replace our inherited codes of conduct with moral principles ever worthier because more vital to modern man.

Take for example our concept of charity long heralded as a preeminent moral virtue. Charity we are rapidly coming to know is a secondary virtue. It is being replaced by the ideals of social justice which will make charity unnecessary. Prevention of poverty through social justice is much worthier than feeding the hungry through sympathy.

Patriotism, another moral concept which once had meaning because of the relative isolation of peoples and the necessity of gregariousness in the face of unknown dangers, is now rapidly changing in a closely knit world. Today the man who thinks in world terms and thereby brings within his circle of friendship, peoples of every race and clime, has found a moral precept higher than patriotism.

Thrift also has been loudly proclaimed as a moral principle but some of us today are seeing clearly the evils which result when thrift is widely practiced. In a time of depression the preachers of the new morality are urging not hoarding but the circulation of wealth.

Loyalty in marriage once considered as preeminent among virtues, is now giving way to a higher moral conviction that love and compatibility are more important than the maintenance of marriage ties when affection and mutual esteem have fled.

These are but a few of the many illustrations that we are finding in modern life to indicate the vastness of the moral revolution now taking place.

There has never been a time when the changes were so vast or so furious. The political, economic and industrial revolutions in the world are no greater even though they may be more spectacular and more easily understood. This moral revolution is caused by any number of things among which the chief are the passing of supernaturalism, the coming of the scientific age, and the potent influence of democracy.

IV

It remains for us to ask, what tests may we apply to conduct today to determine if it is good. If the codes of the past are no longer authoritative, useful only as illustrations of how others have found the road to the good life, what guide posts have we? There are doubtless many tests but among the most important are these:

First: Is the act intelligent? The true test is not what did my father do, or what did the churchmen teach, or what do the creeds require, but, is my conduct intelligent? Intelligence is the greatest moral ideal we have. It is a supreme virtue. It is above loyalty, for loyalty without intelligence is recklessness. It is above conscientiousness for the most conscientious are often the unintelligent troublemakers. It is above love, for love without intelligence is mere infatuation. Unintelligent acceptance of a moral code is acceptance of moral servitude.

Second: Does the act take into consideration the influence of the social order? The old moral code was individualistic. The new must be influenced by social experience. The individual can no longer be separated from the social whole. Killing, stealing and bearing false witness are crimes which are today committed in the name of the law to the betrayal of the best we know, and on behalf of groups with the approval of public opinion, but which nevertheless betray the principles we are beginning to discover.

Third: What will happen as a consequence of our action both to ourself and others who will be affected? This matter of consequence is all important when testing the worth of a moral principle. That sort of behavior is good which will in the long run bring about the greatest possible amount of intrinsic goodness and the least intrinsic evil. Virtuous action is that which tends to bring about the greatest amount of happiness, security, health and abundant living for oneself and one's fellowman. In short, the call to morality is the

call to abundant living. Whatever aids it is moral, whatever detracts from it is immoral.

In these days of searching for new moral precepts efforts have been made to devise a new decalogue in keeping with the needs of the times. Such codes of necessity take into consideration our science, our economic and social problems and our faith in human freedom. I, too, have attempted to write such a code. It is a mere suggestion drawn from many sources and is presented not as a substitute for the old commandments but as an attempt to express our modern moral ideals. This code is as follows:

1. I am Truth, the Lord thy God, who art leading thee out of the land of ignorance, fear, disease, poverty and toil. Thou shalt have no other gods before me.

2. Thou shalt not make unto thyself any final formula of the truth or any fixed dogmas concerning the heavens above or the earth beneath or the waters under the earth; neither shalt thou close thy mind to new ideas, for I, thy God, am an exacting deity, visiting the stupidities of the fathers upon their children unto the third and fourth generation.

3. Thou shalt not use my name or my power in vain by fashioning unto thyself useless or destructive machines to increase upon my earth blind passion and cruel hate among those who claim to be my children, whatever their race or color or condition.

4. Remember all the days of thy life to keep them holy.

5. Honor thy sons and thy daughters and all the children of men, that their days may be blessed by what thou art able to accomplish for them and for those who shall come after them.

6. Thou shalt not kill thy fellowman, neither out of revenge nor hatred against him nor because of the crimes he himself hath committed, nor because of the misunderstandings that may prevail between thy nation and his.

7. Thou shalt not adulterate the body of another with loathsome disease or thy blood stream with idiocy, imbecility or insanity.

8. Thou shalt not steal bread from the hungry, clothes from the poor or shelter from the needy by making goods or profits the chief end of thy labor.

9. Thou shalt not swear falsely to thy fellowman by malicious propaganda, colored news, biased polemics or erroneous advertising, for he shall not be held guiltless who taketh advantage of the gullibility of his neighbor.

10. Thou shalt not covet for me greater power to act for thee or to succor thee or to reveal myself to thee, for I have chosen to give thee freedom to find thine own way, and I, the Lord thy God, am myself subject to thy will.

LON RAY CALL.

The Study Table

China

Two books have come in which have been printed by the Yale University Press for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. This fact indicates the spirit of the two books. They are efforts toward International Conciliation. The first is by Edith E. Ware and is the result of field study. In "Business and Politics in the Far East"[1] she makes a plea for international cooperation. It is made up of two quite independent monographs—the one dealing with Chinese ambitions, the other with Japanese problems. The specific title of the first is Business Contractual Relations in China—Their Bearing Upon the Abolition of Extraterritoriality. After stating the problem of extraterritoriality and the attitude of the Chinese toward it, she makes a detailed study of Chinese business. She shows how it has developed—first as a foreign venture in China, then as actual Chinese enterprise. She realizes fully Chinese sensitiveness to the anomalous conditions that exist. She studies the disadvantages inherent in them but she also finds advantages. She doubts whether immediate abolition of extraterritoriality is desirable either for foreign interests or China. She shows that much of the development of Chinese enterprises has been favored by the fact that they were in protected places, where Chinese disturbances could not wreck them. She is not in sympathy with the attempt of Greater Shanghai to wreck, or even destroy, the Western hold in Shanghai proper, but she is anxious that there should be hearty cooperation between the foreign nations, to give way eventually to the freedom which China so much desires. It must be cooperation between individual foreigners and individual Chinese, between groups of foreigners and groups of Chinese. "The need is that cooperation become official, become national and international." She now turns to ask whether Japan is ready to cooperate, in her second monograph, International Cooperation Versus Militarism in Japan. Most of the book was written before the present crisis. Miss Ware has, however, written some chapters to meet the present condition and her discussion is almost up-to-date. The assassination of Inukai has occurred since and a new and more difficult situation has arisen. Our author is not discouraged. She builds much upon an enlightened Press and the presence of such internationally minded men as Nitobe, Shidehara and Prince Tokugawa. She hopes for a magnanimous and generous attitude. Her discussion is fair and friendly. But—Japan will cooperate, of course, when China is ready to have her do so. She will probably not let others interfere in Sino-Japanese affairs, and frankly I do not see why she should. Nor can I but wonder why we can expect Japan to show a magnanimity that no Western, no "white" nation has ever shown. When Britain and France and the United States become magnanimous, Japan will not be found lacking.

The second of these books is Grover Clark's "Economic Rivalries in China."[2] It seems to be one of a series of *World Economic Problems,* several numbers of which have already appeared in pamphlet form as numbers of *International Conciliation.* The issues so far have dealt with Argentina, India and Manchuria. The idea underlying them is that there are regions, where business rivalry between nations is so keen that they may become danger points leading even to warlike action. So far as we know this is the first one of the series that has been issued in this form and as a library book. The discussion considers Rivalries within China, and Foreign Trade. The author reaches the general conclusion that, whatever may have been true in the past, serious rivalries within China have disappeared and give little ground for fear of future conflict, but that China herself now enters into competition with outside nations. Thus, in connection with shipping on inland waters, he says:

> Thus the record shows that, in this field as in that of railways, the Chinese are pushing ahead in spite of disturbed domestic conditions. The principal rivalry now is between the Chinese and foreigners as a whole rather than between various foreigners.

1. "Business and Politics in the Far East." Edith E. Ware. New Haven: 1932. Yale University Press. 8 vo., pp. x.250. Price $3.50.

2. "Economic Rivalries in China." Grover Clark. New Haven: 1932. Yale University Press. 8 vo., pp. 132. Price $2.00.

Similar observations are made regarding other fields. In the matter of loans, active rivalry has largely been eliminated.

In making the reorganization loan, however, the Five Powers concerned were interested in doing something which seemed to offer hope of restoring enough peace in China so that trade could develop normally. The fact that the Five Powers joined in floating the loan demonstrates rather conclusively that no one of them expected, by itself, to profit politically from it. Nor did any one of them, as things turned out, so profit.

It is true that, within the Manchurian area Japan has made individual loans, but this has been done within the terms of an international agreement. This first part of Clark's study extends to agriculture, transportation, financing, modern industry. In all four fields China is making an apparently definite effort toward self-sufficiency and control. Our author sees, as does Miss Ware, genuine progress. In his discussion of China's Foreign Trade, Clark brings together the latest statistics and shows distribution by countries, analyzes imports and exports and studies the tariff situation. Here again it is China against the world, rather than bitter struggles between outside nations. It is true that Japan competes against England in cotton goods, Japan and the United States are rivals in machinery. Russia looms against America in oil. But, there is probably no serious danger in these rivalries. Perhaps the general argument is summed up thus:

The foreign Powers, in the main, have come to recognize that conditions in China have changed fundamentally, and that foreign activity in and with China in the future must rest on the assumption that China in effective fact as well as in diplomatic formality does belong to the Chinese people.

"What's Wrong with China"[3] is made up of a series of articles, originally written for a Far Eastern journal. They appeared at the time when China's violent action against foreign imperialism was in full swing. An impressive fact about their present appearance is that, though written six or seven years ago, they are here reprinted as they were originally written. Six or seven years had made no change in Chinese attitudes, Chinese ideals, Chinese character, Chinese methods. The author is an American who has had years of experience in China. His attitude toward the Chinese is a curious mixture of bitterness and kindliness. He refuses to be blinded by the brilliancy of past achievements. He holds that there is no hope for China left to herself. He has no confidence that Westernization will develop from within; it might be imposed from without.

It is widely enough known that the Chinese Republic is a gross humbug; that government bv representation has not even been envisaged; that elections when they are held are themselves burlesques; and that the administration of justice is not only in the hands of the strong, but is openly tempered to the purse of the litigant in so many cases that the exception, when there is one, elicits gasps of astonishment from both foreigners and natives.

Nor does our author look with hope to the foreign educated.

It may be realized, or should be if it isn't, that the Chinese educated in Europe and America have contributed almost nothing to the welfare of their country; that the native students are much more devoted to the pursuit of radicalism in its extremest forms than to either useful or abstract learning, while all who can pretend to even a smattering of modern schooling are intensely anti-foreign.

In support of his contentions he takes up in turn—social traditions, language and letters, history, standards of manhood, foreign relations, chaos and foreign influence.

To any intelligent person living in the East, it is evident enough that China's present state is primarily due to the complete breakdown of discipline and of respect for authority, upon which the maintenance of order has depended since the beginning of things Chinese, and without which the Chinese masses are no more a nation than a masterless horde of young hoodlums at large is a school.

We disagree with much that Gilbert says and we find more or less of inconsistency in his argument, but we recommend the reading of his book. It is extreme in statement and must be carefully weighed, but it is a good counteractant to some of the maudlin sentiment regarding China that is prevalent.

Anderson's "Yellow Flood"[4] is a weird tale. It is a remarkable piece of word-arrangement. Any passage will illustrate our meaning. This one, from near the beginning, introduces the hero in-so-far as there is a hero:

Little Bill called to a half-naked old peasant, balanced like a charioteer on a ramshackle harrow with wooden teeth that was being drawn leisurely across the shallow plowed field by a pony, muddy with sweat, and a forlorn steer with bulging eyes and lolling tongue.

Little Bill is the son of a lank American engineer and a Chinese woman. The Chinese mother is dead and the engineer widower is engaged in professional work in China. "Yellow Flood" is used in a double sense. It is the Hwangho breaking through its dikes and carrying death and destruction and it is the Chinese mob sweeping helpless victims before it. Little Bill is swept out of sight by the one, tossed back by the other flood. About three years pass between. A prominent character in the story is Colfax, the impetuous young American who starts out, as they all do, to "show" the Chinese how to do things. He makes a mess of it, as they all do. The book is a novel without sex motive. Woman plays but a small and unimportant part in it. The story is rather disjointed, but the four chief characters are well depicted—Little Bill, his father, Colfax and Mah K'oung.

FREDERICK STARR.

3. "What's Wrong with China." Rodney Gilbert. New York: 1932. Frederick A. Stokes Co. 8 vo., pp. 315. Price $3.00.

4. "Yellow Flood." William Ashley Anderson. New York: 1932. Robert M. McBride & Co. 16 mo., pp. 275. Price $2.00.

A Great Scientist on War

The John Day Pamphlets comprise a valuable and steadily growing collection of booklets. Handsomely printed, neatly bound in attractive paper covers, they stir again the hope that the American public may be educated out of their extraordinary superstition that nothing is worth reading and keeping but a cloth-bound book of 300-odd pages sold at $2 and up. These pamphlets are written by first-class men on important subjects. None of them all is more interesting and significant than this latest on the list.

"The Fight Against War"* is a compilation of the utterances of Albert Einstein on the question of war and peace. The editor, Mr. Lief, has done a complete job. He has gathered every statement, apparently, that has fallen from the great scientist's lips or pen—not only articles and speeches, but also occasional or even chance remarks of only a sentence or two. The whole makes a remarkable anthology—"a confession," as Einstein puts it, "rather than a literary production," made because "I consider it my duty to confess my pacifist conviction publicly."

*"The Fight Against War," by Albert Einstein; Edited by Alfred Lief. Published by the John Day Company. 25 Cents..

It is interesting to notice that Albert Einstein's pacifism is no post-war discovery or conversion. He was a pacifist in 1914, when the Great War started. Thus, when asked to sign with the ninety-three intellectuals the famous German Manifesto of October, 1914, he refused to do so; and straightway prepared a Counter-Manifesto of his own, which never got very far, but which made the same appeal for "a union of Europeans" against the war-makers that Romain Rolland was heroically voicing in France. It is not surprising therefore to discover that the second item in the pamphlet is a letter to Rolland, nobly expressing fellowship, and placing his "poor abilities" at Rolland's disposal if he thinks he "can be of any service." This letter is dated March 22, 1915. Later on, the editor tells us, on September 16, 1915, Einstein came to see Rolland at Vevey. "We had a long conversation the whole of an afternoon."

The next item is dated April 9, 1922. The long silence could not be broken until the War was over! Thereafter the statements multiply. None of them all is more impressive, perhaps, than the famous address before the New History Society in New York, on December 14, 1930, when Einstein came out unreservedly for refusal to fight. Real pacifists in conscription countries must "refuse to do military service under any circumstances." In other countries, pacifists "must in time of peace publicly declare that they will not take up arms under any circumstances." The last item in the little volume is the professor's reply to the Woman Patriot Corporation which tried to persuade the State Department to refuse him entrance to this country.

The women patriots are right! Einstein is dangerous to the war governments of the world. But just for this very reason do civilized people hail him as one of the supreme prophets and statesmen of the age.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

Trumpets on New Horizons

Dirge for the Modern Lazarus

Mary and Martha knew the tomb was sealed,
But Mary and Martha sensed Christ's mighty power;
These two women knew how he had healed
The tortured flesh in many another hour.

Theirs was the faith which sets the spirit free;
His was power stronger than graves or death:
The body of Lazarus; bones of you or me
Are only clay and chalk without His breath.

Out of the tomb because of His Command—
Broken the giant stone; the dead made whole:
A stony sepulchre reduced to sand—
Lazarus from the grave, restored of soul.

Not more hemmed in by chilly granite boulders
Was Lazarus than we who file our sabres
And take the Cross of War upon our shoulders,
Marching with killers' hearts upon our neighbors.

He who has healed the blind; restored the halt
Can save us, too, if we discard the sword;
But if men retain these killer's tools their vault
Must stay unopened always to their Lord!

JAY G. SIGMUND.

Robber Baron Never Dies

Do petty thefts that poor men make
Deserve the shame of prison bars?
The monstrous graft directors take
Has won them gardens, homes and cars
And shallow dolls who whirl as wives
And sniff the nose at poor men's lives.

The servile, imitative mob
Applauds them. They knew *how* to rob!

MARY OWEN LEWIS.

The Builder

They spoke of his integrity, the few,
Remembering the joy with which he built
Their sturdy houses, and his kindly lilt
Of song. "It was the only way he knew
To make a home. Each bolt, each nail and screw
Were fitted patiently. He blessed the town;
The folk should place a marker here to crown
His honesty. There's little we can do
To show respect."

Today I happened by
The square, and saw, instead, a monument
Commemorating lads the country sent
To kill their fellows, ravish homes—and die.
And as I walked the stately avenue
I wondered at the silly things men do.

MARGARET MILLER PETTENGILL.

Hymn of Peace

Oh nation, ring in vibrant round of song!
That men shall work, as arm and hand,
Beyond a creed, a name, a land
And spur the reign of supermen along.

In purpose men will ever thirst as one.
And mount, as clearer eyes behold
The mysteries of love unfold,
And tear the cowl from sophistry, undone.

Then bar the way of greed in masks of clay.
Corruption's fear will perish where
Eternal law is man's affair
And throbbing nations hail the peace of day.

AMY CROCKER LEIGHTON.

Correspondence

Friendless Miners

Editor of UNITY:

Stricken with unemployment as this country is today, the areas of hope are where workers have taken their courage and lives of their families into their hands to strike out for themselves against conditions which are beyond human endurance. In the mining regions of Illinois, West Virginia and Tennessee the situation is today sharp and bitter.

In Illinois the miners have organized themselves into the Progressive Miners of America. Some operators have settled with the union, but the powerful Peabody-Insull coal interests around Taylorville and Springfield look to the exploited Kentucky coal region to break the strike of the miners in Illinois. Miners at work—most of them work part time—contribute one dollar from each pay to their relief fund. During the winter months accidents increase because the ordinary hazards underground multiply. Cost of burial of the dead and help for the injured take away much of the funds. The sum collected is insufficient. To make relief go as far as possible, miners' wives and daughters have organized themselves into Ladies Auxiliaries, organized soup kitchens, fed hundreds of school children in each mining town at least one hot meal a day, remade old clothing to fit, and have stretched every cent, every bean, every piece of cloth as far as humanly possible. To dis-

courage their work, county officials and company thugs have been beating these women up and throwing them into jails. The fight in Illinois is a fight for a progressive, militant organization of miners and their families, instead of for an intrenched officialdom. At least 10,000 miners and their families in Central Illinois today are utterly dependent on the money and clothes our committee can send them within the next few weeks.

In West Virginia the union fights on. It is in friendly alliance with the Progressive Miners of America. A strike at Coalburg waged during this last month of snow and cold is the forerunner of another and larger strike which may become unavoidable in the early spring. The tent colonies all over the Kanawha Valley have been there so long that now as one of the miners declared, "they've taken root." Babies die by the score. Before a child is a year old in these camps it has run the gauntlet of every form of disease. The whole population is hungry and sick. Their song goes "'Tis indeed a bitter pill to work without a union 'neath the West Virginia Hills." They are striking now, they must strike again. In striking lies their only hope for life, for a step toward freedom.

Still further South, in Wilder, Tennessee, coal miners have been carrying on a lonesome battle against the company and a community which fails to sympathize with their plight. Friends of the committee are in close touch with the situation there.

Our plea is simple and direct. We know in your own midst there is suffering which must be assuaged. But friendless miners, sometimes lacking in hope, shut up in their tents or little houses crowded with children, need money and clothing in their struggle against the organized operators. We must give now and be ready to supply funds and clothing when Spring comes.

This appeal has dealt specifically with the miners' struggle. Of course, the Emergency Committee does not limit itself to miners alone. In accordance with our object, we shall stand ready to help groups of exploited workers in any industry who have developed strength to strike or to organize themselves.

Please send money and clothing at once to Room 1105, 112 East 19th Street, New York City. Make checks payable to the Committee, to Norman Thomas, chairman, or to Reinhold Niebuhr, treasurer.

NORMAN THOMAS.

New York City, N. Y.

1933 Seminar in Mexico

Editor of UNITY:

May we, through your columns, draw the attention of your readers to the Eighth Seminar in Mexico which meets July 8th to 28th, 1933.

The Seminar is held under the auspices of the Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America and provides opportunity for study of the life and culture of the Mexican people. The Seminar, with eight years' experience behind it, offers a three weeks' program of lectures, round tables and field trips—all planned to give a comprehensive and non-propagandist introduction to Mexico.

The program gives distinct advantages to those interested in fields of economics, international relations, the arts, education, and archeology.

The Seminar is sub-divided into small groups under the leadership of such men and women as Judge Florence E. Allen, Dr. Charles W. Hackett, Count Rene d'Harnoncourt, Dr. Sylvanus Morley, Professor Alfonso Caso, Dr. Moises Saenz, Lic. Ramon Beteta, Elizabeth Wallace, Dr. Chester Lloyd Jones. Field trips are planned to many places of interest within a radius of 100 miles of Mexico City—Puebla, San Juan Teotihuacan, Tasco, Xochimilco and Oaxtepec.

The first ten days of the program is conducted in Cuernavaca, a unique background for unhurried and thoughtful discussion. The second ten days is spent in Mexico City.

The Seminar is followed by three weeks of optional trips to the States of Michoacan and Oaxaca and to the village of Tasco.

Applications and requests for additional information should be addressed to

HUBERT C. HERRING, Director.
112 East 19th Street,
New York, N. Y.

Empty Buildings for the Homeless

Editor of UNITY:

I note in the January 30th number of UNITY your editorial on the empty spaces in the Waldorf-Astoria hotel, the Empire State building, "echoing by day from the vast areas of its untenanted floors and offices," and Radio City, which I heard a Boston business man describe recently as a "wilderness of emptiness."

Now comes the story of the Stevens Hotel in Chicago which, according to the public press, is so vast that there is no possibility of all the rooms ever being occupied to any profit.

As I read of these monuments of folly I am moved to ask: Why not utilize them to house the thousands of homeless men, women and children in those great cities who are shelterless or huddled in slum tenements like rabbits in their warrens?

If I were a Mussolini that is surely one thing I would do.*

GEORGE L. THOMPSON,
President of the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice.

Dighton, Mass.

*They already do it in Russia.—Editor.

The Field

(Continued from page 370)

by our own country. A regiment of soldiers is brought to the center of disturbance and a detachment of these troops is ordered to fire upon a crowd that is demonstrating against the government. What is the attitude of the Christian Pacifist to this problem, and what are the consequences to his political position if he decides that he cannot ask or expect others to participate in an action he regards as immoral and anti-Christian? Yet, how can he come to any other conclusion?

Let us further suppose that for some reason these soldiers refuse to carry out the orders of their officers and are punished for so doing. Has the Christian Pacifist no comment to make on this? Has he no responsibility? If he has *not*, then that is as good as saying that he approves of the use of violence by his representatives to maintain the right of conquest, but not of the use of violence by himself to defend his country. One hesitates as to whether to call such a position absurd or whether to say plainly that it is mean and cowardly.

My imaginary instances are given in this form to avoid an irrelevant argument on the "facts of the case," by which these questions are too often evaded. The violence or peacefulness of the crowd in question, the intentions of the government, the alleged benefits of foreign rule and all the other points commonly dragged into the argument have no bearing on the case, any more than arguments as to the cause of the Great War or allegations of German brutality affected the pacifist position in 1914. In each case the pacifist—"political" or "religious"—has to detach himself from the mass of conflicting "factual" evidence and concentrate upon the one thing that concerns him *as a pacifist*. In the case I have outlined that one thing is that the soldier (who is one of his own representatives in the colony) is commanded to kill in order to maintain British Rule. A general refusal of soldiers to carry out such orders would clearly lead to the complete breakdown of any autocratic government—a fact which no responsible official in the colonies will deny. We are already up to our necks in politics!

We may now turn from the hypothetical to the actual; for the case I have given is simply that of the Garhwahi Rifles. These Hindu soldiers were employed (following the usual custom) to subdue the Mohammedan crowds in the city of Peshawar during the Spring of 1930, when the "Red Shirts" were demonstrative against the Government. Contrary to calculation they refused to fire on their unarmed brothers—the Court Martial evidence is perfectly clear on this point, and there was no accusation of violence

having been used against the officers. As a result these men received heavy sentences, for twenty years or life imprisonment in some cases.

Looking back at this case it is astounding to reflect that this occurred under a government of which many members were supposed to be pacifists and had taken the pacifist position during the war. The case was not unknown in England, and was brought to the attention of all those societies and organizations which might have been expected to take up the case of these brave men, who are still in prison today. Why was this possible, and why is it still impossible to rouse opinion among pacifists as a whole upon issues of this sort? India alone has groaned with such incidents for years.

I cannot answer for the politicians, nor does this answer come within the scope of this article. I am concerned here with the Christians, and more especially with those in the churches who have openly proclaimed their belief in pacifism.

From an astonishing number of these the answer comes continually that they cannot meddle in politics. Here are our own emissaries, the representatives of a government responsible to the British people, carrying out policies for which we are morally responsible—and Christians cannot "meddle" in their actions to put a stop to murder! If we accept the responsibilities of citizenship at all we are *bound* to "meddle" in politics, and the only point at issue is the same as that we face in our individual lives—the choice between a social and an anti-social standard of conduct. If the State commits murder, those who have failed to use their influence against policies which can only be maintained by murder share in the blood guilt. If our pro-consuls punish men for refusing to kill, we share in the responsibility for that punishment unless we join in protest against it.

Most tragic of all has been the attempt to evade our own responsibility by facile criticism of others. Here again my experience of the Indian crisis provides a deplorable example. Again and again I have found a willingness on the part of Christians to avoid the question of British responsibility for repression by criticizing Gandhi and Civil Disobedience. But surely, even if Gandhi had been fighting with bombs and poison gas, instead of merely refusing to obey our orders—even if he had been fighting for the conquest of England instead of for the freedom of his own country—even if every libel ever written about him had been true, *no pacifist could justify the suppression of his movement by violence.* It has never ceased to amaze me that Christian people should find civil disobedience "un-Christian" when practiced by members of another race in a struggle for freedom, and at the same time that they should be perfectly complacent about their own use of active violence—not even in order to gain freedom, but in order to assert their domination over others! Is it that there is something especially "holy" about a government? If so, when and how does it acquire its halo? How many years of power transform an unholy revolutionary, who succeeds in upsetting one government and setting up another, into a holy and righteous person whom it is the duty of the Church to support? At what point does the transformation take place?

From this opportunist worship of power and success the Christian pacifist must free himself forever, or his pacifism becomes a mockery. It is absurd to suppose that a riot becomes a "restoration of law and order" because one side wear uniforms and brass buttons. It is merely cynical to assume that murder becomes "execution" because the murderers establish themselves sufficiently well (by murder) to call themselves a government, and that murder is thereby justified. But the moment we challenge the position of the legal assassin we are on the slippery path of politics, and of the most dangerous branch of politics. In short, honest pacifism, *whatever its origin,* leads sooner or later to a conflict with accepted law.

REGINALD REYNOLDS.

"... thy neighbor's landmark"

The ten Commandments did not complete God's injunctions to his Chosen People. As they entered the Promised Land, one more law thundered from the heavens: "Thou shalt not remove thy neighbor's landmark." It was the eleventh commandment and by obeying it man was to gain economic happiness and peace.

... But man disobeyed and in that disobedience Francis Neilson has found rich material for a study of what modern life might be, had the sanctity of landmarks been preserved. His pages are filled with provocative discussion of civilizations that have collapsed in the past and of land aggrandizement and its connection with our present economic ills.

THE ELEVENTH COMMANDMENT

by FRANCIS NEILSON

A timely volume which the intelligent reader will thoughtfully consider long after the last page has been turned.

$2.50

THE VIKING PRESS - NEW YORK

Subscribe to

The New Humanist

A Bi-Monthly Journal for Thoughtful and Selective Readers

A critical and creative journal with man-centered interests. It neither duplicates nor competes. Concise in form it appeals particularly to those seeking substantial material in new fields. Our friends are our best copy-writers:

Harry Elmer Barnes says:

"The New Humanist is the journal of the vanguard in religious progress today. Its contributors are distinguished scholars and thinkers and the subjects covered are both urgent and diversified."

And John Dewey:

"There is valuable material in this journal which I do not find elsewhere. I am confident that there is a particular audience waiting for the ideas which are set forth in it."

As well as others:

"Dignified, scientific, stimulating and suggestive—" A. Eustace Haydon. "A refreshing oasis in the desert of compromise and dishonest thought," Rabbi Solomon Goldman. "Fulfills an altogether unique function in contemporary American life," Maynard Shipley.

Per copy 20c, *Annually* $1.00

THE NEW HUMANIST

105 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.